1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

A particular tribe, then, owns certain rivulets and creeks with their affluents and the important correlated *galeria* forests; the next creek and its adjacent area, beyond the watershed, belongs to the neighboring tribe. Thus the ancient boundary between the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the Apą'nyekra was formed by the watershed between the large Papagaio and Porcos creeks, two affluents of the Rio Corda. The entire district drained by the Flores, a rivulet tributary to the Mearim, belonged to the Čą'kamekra. Beyond the eastern watershed of the Flores lay the land of the Hakąpó (=Gamella of Codó). Reduced by wars and epidemics, the Čą'kamekra retreated before the Neobrazilians into the extreme southern corner of their habitat; and when that, too, proved an untenable refuge, they united with the Rąmkõ'kamekra, sharing their territory on wholly equal terms.

The northern boundary of the Apą'nyekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra consisted of the wooded area of the Mearim, to which these steppe dwellers attached no importance, so that the Guajajára were able to settle there.

The Mearim divided the Čą'kamekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra on its right bank from the Krẽyé of Bacabal on the left. Originally no Timbira tribe simultaneously occupied both banks of the Tocantins; this was subsequently done by the Krahõ', but only because of Neobrazilian pressure. Anyone may hunt, fish, gather, and make a clearing at will within the tribal territory. A plot, so long as it is under cultivation, belongs to the family of the woman for whom the clearing was made. Wild fruit-trees are never privately owned unless they have been deliberately spared in clearing a plot. Fellow tribesmen never quarrel over the exploitation of the tribal area. The endless land disputes among Neobrazilians, often leading to murder or manslaughter, figure as a proof of their malevolence. Snethlage reports that two prominent Rąmkõ'kamekra of mature age belonging to complementary moieties had the Indian agent in Barra do Corda smooth out difficulties over a boundary transgression.[88] I cannot conceive either how such a dispute could have arisen or how the moieties could have been involved, hence I must assume some misunderstanding on this investigator's part.

An object belongs to its maker or winner or to the person for whom it was produced or won. For example, a wife not merely owns the utensils manufactured by herself, but also the objects—say, sleeping mats—made for her by her husband; further, the plot and house cleared and erected by the husband or his assistants. Children become owners of the toys made for them by parents and relatives as soon as the objects are handed to them. Proprietary claims of this sort are generally acknowledged to the fullest extent, the solitary exception being the encroachments of a wife's brothers on her husband's private possessions (see p. 125).

Except for houses and cultivated plots, private property is markedly unstable. Chattels, even the most valuable of them, such as rifles, bush-knives, axes, iron pots, and arara feathers frequently pass to new owners because of the fees often obligatory on individuals as well as organizations. As shown elsewhere (p. 75), an exaggerated value is attached to tame wild pigs, hence the killing of these animals that regularly recurs during certain festivals involves indemnification of the families which reared them, thus accounting for circulation of considerable property. Another, though rare, occasion for the transfer of many goods is the ceremonial exchange of precentresses when peace is concluded. At the close of the pepyé the families of the new initiates give presents to the two girl associates; in 1933 the elders expressed displeasure with the meagerness of the offerings, whereupon the first commandant of the pepyé stepped up, unbuckled his unused bush-

[88] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 168.

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knife—a Collins 128—stuck in a new leather sheath, and calmly added it to the gifts. When the kę'makra and atų'kmakra go on a joint hunting trip, the former give to the latter a bow, whatever is required for shooting, and the knife for cutting up the game. The killer of a jaguar would exchange weapons with the first companion summoned by his call, even surrendering a gun for a bow. The tool used by the elders in manufacturing the kokré log at the close of the ceremonial period is not returned to the vų'tę"s father.

Decorative articles manufactured by special persons for the wearer never remain his property, being generally passed on—sometimes after hardly a few minutes' use—to his hąpín. On the other hand, the kõkrį't masks become the property of the Mummers' "mothers" at the close of the festive period (p. 212). In other instances the councilors decide who is to receive the decoration. Thus the ketúaye outfit of 1930 was divided between me and the father of the girl associate, Iromkré, for he had taken great pains to fulfill his obligations toward his daughter's age-class moiety; and I had made a contribution for the festival. For the same reason in 1933 the council bestowed on me the ceremonial lance of the pepyé (pl. 31, *c*, *d*).

On well-nigh innumerable occasions food or prepared dishes, notably meat pies, must be provided. I should have to go through the entire ceremonial to list all the instances. The offerings range from an ordinary bowlful of food and the dramatic remuneration of the plaza groups by the novices' kinswomen, who set up in front of the youths' matrilineal homes carrying baskets (po) ostentatiously crammed with victuals. The obligations of the King Vultures also may be cited here, as well as the history of the arara feathers on the lance awarded to the leader of the Clowns.

Alienable incorporeal property is unknown. Ceremonial functions are conveyed gratis by inheritance along with the correlated personal names. All songs are common property, to be learnt and sung by anyone willing and able to do so. The Sun is addressed in impromptu words, and I have never noted any signs of magical formulae.

Since prior to contact with civilization the Timbira hardly owned objects of permanent value, the rules of inheritance must have been of minor significance. Snethlage goes so far as to allege (without citing his source) the destruction or interment with the corpse of such personal belongings as weapons, tools, and decoration. Such destruction is unknown to the contemporary Canella. If an Indian dies without issue, his present heirs are his matrilineal kindred, who for the time being take his weapons and ornaments into custody. Two or three days after the funeral they put everything on a mat, around which the relatives assemble for a lament. The gravedigger also appears and is allowed to pick out one or two items from the legacy. Formerly the usage was not to compensate him in this way, but with two newly plaited carrying baskets and large, decorated gourd bowls. The rest was distributed among the relatives. The dead man's sister's son does not receive any special share. On the other hand, they always give the widow some portion of the inheritance; in decency she, in turn, retaining as she does the cultivated plot, will give her mother-in-law a present from the crops raised there. If the deceased has children, they appropriate everything, irrespective of their sex. A woman's house and field, as well as her other belongings, are inherited by her daughter; if there is none, her sister or her sister's daughter inherits, never the deceased woman's husband or son. Thus, children of both sexes inherit from their father, but only a daughter inherits from her mother.

Penal law.—Since all the emphasis is on the preservation of intratribal peace, penal law is little developed. Ribeiro says:[208]

[208] Memoria, § 10.